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FROM THE EDITOR. . .

Having spent the summer first at the Fife Folklore Conference and then teaching in the Summer Institute for Children's Literature at Hollins College, I have returned this fall refreshed and ready for the new academic year.

Editing this issue of the *Children's Folklore Review* has been quite pleasant. The first article, Sylvia Ann Grider's "Dorothy Howard: Pioneer Collector of Children's Folklore," is an excellent overview of one of the important collectors and analysts in the field. Howard herself would, I think, be pleased by this article as well as by Carole H. Carpenter's "Developing an Appreciation for the Cultural Significance of Childlore." Carpenter's study is very much a fulfillment of Howard's own emphasis on the child as a member of the community.

On another front, please note the call for papers in the Announcements at the end of this volume. The Children's Literature Association has announced that the June 1994 meeting topic will be *Children's Literature & the Lore of Childhood.* According to the call for papers, ChLA is using "'lore' in its multiple connotations of folklore, tradition, and knowledge." The call for papers further states that the intent of the ChLA is to go beyond such well-known topics as "adapting folktales for a young audience or discovering the influence of folklore on later texts" to consider such topics as "How do stories written by children reflect/respond to/ rewrite the folktales and folklore they have heard?" and "What are the challenges posed and reconfigurations suggested by the desire for multicultural and international education?" This conference proposes to be an excellent meeting ground for children's folklore and children's literature.

See you in Milwaukee.

C.W. Sullivan III

Dorothy Howard: Pioneer Collector of Children's Folklore

Sylvia Ann Grider

Everyone interested in children's folklore, especially games, owes a debt to Dorothy Mills Howard. Her work bridges the gap between the late nineteenth-century collecting of children's games and the current generation of scholars engaged in serious and systematic childlore research, epitomized by Iona and the late Peter Opie, recognized today as the world's leading collectors of children's folklore.[1] In 1938 Dorothy Howard's New York University doctoral dissertation, "Folk Jingles of American Children: A Collection of Rhymes Used by Children Today," was heralded as pioneering and innovative because it departed so radically from previously accepted canons of scholarship. She collected her material directly from the children themselves rather than observing them as an outsider as her predecessors had done and corroborating this secondhand information with adult memories.

Born July 8, 1902, in rural Texas and named Dorothy Gray Mills (which she preferred to write backwards as a sort of alter ego, Sllim Yarg Yhtorod), she vividly remembered her own childhood, which she chronicled in loving detail in her memoir, *Dorothy's World* (1977). She began her teaching career when she was only seventeen years old, in 1920, during the second year of the great international flu epidemic. When a fourth-grade teacher in a nearby community died, Dorothy was asked to teach the class for the remaining three months of the school year. Her high school teachers tutored her after school, and she graduated on time with her classmates.

She knew that she wanted a career in teaching. In 1923, she graduated from North Texas State Teacher's College in Denton, Texas. In 1925, she married James Howard and had two children, a son and a daughter. From 1923-44 she taught in public schools in Texas, New York, and New Jersey, and also served as a school principal. From 1931-36 she was director of a public summer camp for girls in Westchester County, New York.

She became a folklorist almost by accident. As she recalls in a personal, unpublished memoir:

> From 1930-44 I taught in public schools in New York and New Jersey, teaching immigrant children and children of immigrant parents from Norway, Sweden, Finland, Latvia, Germany, and Italy and Greek-speaking children from Turkey, together with those whose immigrant forbears may

> have come to America on the Mayflower or on a Dutch ship to New Amsterdam. My job was to teach all the children to read, write, and speak the English language and, in addition, to appreciate the beauty of literature in the English language. There was no book to tell me how to do it, and I was frustrated until I discovered that they were learning English faster on the unsupervised playground than in the classroom. Consequently, defying all prevailing pedagogic canon law, I brought the bouncing balls, skipropes, and marbles into the classroom where I began to construct a new curriculum based on the children's perfect metric play poetry. I had no thought of ever incarcerating my research into a doctoral dissertation. That happened by chance.

Howard thus began her research into what she at first called "children's playlore" as a classroom teacher interested in the teaching-learning process. As she relates the experience (in third person):

> As a wandering school teacher, Dorothy in 1930 became a teaching principal in a consolidated rural school in New York State. One problem that soon became her great concern was the fact that most of the children, especially the boys, reached the junior high grades 'hating' poetry. . . . Then one spring day at noon she stood at an open classroom window pondering that problem [and] casually watching children play on an unsupervised playground. Skip ropes were turning; marbles, rolling; balls, bouncing. Gradually she became aware of metaphoric, rhythmic language accompanying the body movements of the children. . . . By the time the bell rang calling the children in, she had counted on her fingers more than a dozen rhymes and formulae; and when the children came to class, rhymes, rhythms, and metaphors of the playground language were discussed. The next day, self-assigned homework was brought in, and by week's end, the class had a collection of more than two hundred playground rhymes. It soon became clear to Dorothy that their joy in poetry came from orchestrated body movements, including the voice. One class discussion led to another: metric and cadenced rhythms; kinds of rhymes and sound-meaning (rollicking and frollicking as opposed to cold and bold). Discussions led to

> dramatic choral reading activities, to group creative verse writing, to individual creative writing, and to reading poetry in books, first to limericks, then to 'Jabberwocky,' and gradually to serious poems. *(Dorothy's World*, 287-88)

As she later observed, her "use of the playground as laboratory distinguished her method of study and would. . . determine the character of the results. Her purpose was not that of an antiquarian making a pack rat, museum collection of fossils but that of a school teacher trying to find out what and how children learn and teach each other and why" (293).

She further recalled:

> Sometime in 1933 . . . the late Dr. Walter Barnes, Professor of English at New York University, heard about my research in conversation with my sister at a cocktail party. He sent word that he wanted to talk with me about it. And when we talked, he told me that children's playlore was 'folklore' (I did not know that). He introduced me to the works of Gomme, Halliwell, Newell and other nineteenth century folklorists and told me that research in children's folklore was a fallow field unexplored since Newell. I remember exactly what he said, "I am keen about your project." He urged me to continue the investigation and to keep in touch with him.
>
> I continued playing with my schoolchildren on the playground and with my own and neighbor children at home and in the streets. Dr. Barnes and I continued to meet and talk until sometime in 1934. He suggested that the project should develop into a Ph. D. dissertation. With my permission, he said, he would investigate the possibility of persuading the higher powers at N. Y. U., and at Columbia University, as well as at other universities, to his point of view. I agreed.
>
> About a year later he reported. The academic higher powers were unanimous in the view that children's play was not a proper subject for a Ph. D. dissertation. However, N. Y. U. had recently invented a new degree—the Ed. D. He offered to investigate the possibility of getting my project accepted as an Ed. D. dissertation, and I agreed.
>
> Finally, in 1936, Dr. Barnes' scholarly prestige outweighed and overcame the reluctance of the higher powers

at N. Y. U. I was allowed to take the preliminary examinations for the doctorate. And my project was accepted with the stipulation that it be confined to verbal aspects of children's lore and that it be geographically expanded to include rhymes of children throughout the entire United States. Professor Barnes was appointed chairman of my sponsoring committee which included Professor Ambrose L. Suhrue and Professor Hughes Mearns (both were sympathetic and cooperative). That first morning when I reported to begin my preliminary examinations for the doctorate, I opened a door into a very large room and saw some five hundred or more people there, for the same purpose. As my eyes wandered over the room, I saw only two other women. In 1936, there were very few women doctors [i. e. doctorates] of any kind.

In the beginning my attention had been concentrated on verbal aspects of children's play. But as I spent more and more time on the playground, I became more and more aware that children's voices accompanied other body movements and that children moved in group patterns-not chaotically as I had, at first, thought. Then I began to view the playground as an educational institution-as a school operating three feet below adult eye level and invisible to myopic adults.

By the time I was a doctoral candidate, I wanted to limit my study to one school and one group and to expand the inquiry to include the context of the verbal lore: the school (playground and classroom); the home (parent-child and sibling relationships); the church; the community. Professor Barnes had become sympathetic to my view and from 1934 to 1936, he and I searched for then current publications in anthropology, sociology and psychology bearing on my subject. But in those days, physical educationists were in ascendency in the academic community and their prevailing view was: adult-planned and supervised play, only, was worth serious attention. Following Professor Barnes' advice, I compromised and accepted the dictated formula for doctoral study. He said, "Get that doctorate. Then you can go your own way forever."

In a 1937 article in *The New Yorker,* Howard published some of the poems and jingles from her research, thus giving readers a new insight into the worldview of contemporary American children. In that article, she explained:

> The inhabitants of the childish underworld. . . caricature the universe of their elders. They reduce our sophisms to the elementary simplicities-violence, anger, love, and brutal humor. They celebrate the passions which fill their small selves in songs fit for savage races, fit for prehistory.

She continued:

> The child, most indefatigable of jokers, finds all experience an occasion for humor. The whole spectacle of the world is comic. Specifically, he finds risible all physical peculiarities, such as fat or ugliness, all offensive smells, sounds, and actions, and love, and intoxication, and wounds and contusions. . . . His art fulfills the definition of art as a criticism of life, for he regards adult experience coldly, transfers it into concepts meaningful to himself, and states them in satirical and critical terms. (32)

In addition to the article in *The New Yorker,* Howard recalled speaking about her research before the annual congress of the National Council of Teachers of English and that the talk was written up by the New York press. As a result, she said she received hundreds of letters from readers all over the world, including one from Iona and Peter Opie, who were then a young, unmarried courting couple. She has stayed in touch with the Opies, who in the preface to their innovative and influential *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* referred to her as "one of the originators of this field of study (xvi)."

Howard recalls, "The New York *Times* report also brought a *Time Magazine* reporter scurrying to see my dissertation. Out of thirteen chapters, she was interested in one, 'Taboo Rhymes.' And her article in *Time* implied that I was a pixilated, female schoolteacher sitting on a street curb inviting naughty children to whisper naughty rhymes to me when I should have been in the classroom teaching them their Three R's."[2] In spite of this harsh and naive criticism, she continued throughout her long career to conduct research and publish the results innumerous folklore journals and other professional magazines in the United States and abroad (see bibliography).

From 1944-1967 Howard was a Professor of English at Frostburg State Teacher's College, Maryland, and served as Chair of the English Department

from 1942-1962. Throughout her teaching career at Frostburg, she assigned her students to collect data from local children and to write careful, detailed autobiographical ethnographies of their own playlife as children.[3] She retired from Frostburg in 1967, and from 1967-1969 she was Visiting Professor of English at the University of Nebraska and special consultant in children's literature and playlore in the cooperative Tri-University Project (University of Washington, New York University, and University of Nebraska). She retired from the University of Nebraska in 1969 and lived for many years in a pink adobe facing the desert on the outskirts of Roswell, New Mexico, until advanced age and failing eyesight forced her to make other arrangements.

Dorothy Howard has been a consistent professional voice on behalf of the systematic collection and study of children's folklore. For example, in 1949, recognizing the close relationship between folklore and education, Thelma James, President of the American Folklore Society, appointed a special Committee on Folklore for Children and Young People. Dorothy Howard, with the assistance of Eloise Ramsey, compiled an annotated bibliography, *Folklore for Children and Young People,* which was published in 1952 as Volume 3 of the AFS Bibliographical Series. Because this bibliography emphasized folklore *for* children rather than *by* children, it departed from Dorothy Howard's other work; but it nevertheless reflected the official concern of the American Folklore Society with the otherwise neglected overall field of children's folklore.

Dorothy Howard continued her research, collecting, and publishing of children's lore through a long and productive career. As her interest in the context of children's play increased, she wanted to limit her attention to smaller and smaller groups in order to observe more thoroughly and to probe more deeply into children's minds. To this end, she increased her direct fieldwork with children playing together naturally in groups.

In 1954-55, she enjoyed a Fulbright post-doctoral research grant in Melbourne, Australia, where she was the first to study the traditional play customs of Anglo-Australian children. When she applied for the Fulbright research grant, she intended to study the play life of Australian children in one school in one community. The grant, however, was not approved until she agreed to survey play life in the whole of Australia, an impossible task for one person during one year's fieldwork.

In a presentation she made to the Victorian Institute of Educational Research in 1955, she summarized her findings: " . . . over 700 game names; descriptions of about 400 games; 175 skipping rhymes; 40 counting-out rhymes. . .; the words for about 15 singing games (with musical notation for 8); a few riddles, tongue-twisters, trick rhymes; hand, finger, and toe rhymes; rhymes for taunting, swearing an oath, bouncing ball; and nonsense rhymes.

All this is folklore-transmitted from children to children without benefit of printed book or adult sponsor." The educators with whom she worked in Australia were astonished and fascinated by the extent of her findings.

During her stay in Australia, she met and encouraged a young researcher and teacher from New Zealand, Brian Sutton-Smith, who followed in her footsteps to become an international authority on children and their traditional behavior. As he recalls:

> Dorothy visited me in New Zealand in 1954 shortly after I had returned from my Fulbright two years in the United States. I remember sitting with her on a wind swept beach on those antipodean islands considering that I had chosen the world's most trivial subject but had chosen it also about as far away from any action as it was possible to get. As they say down under, it seems there like all the rest of the world was invited to a party but New Zealand did not get an invitation. In those circumstances, Dorothy's own Fulbright visit to see me was a infusion of heartening lend-lease sufficient to keep me going, until my personal invitation did indeed arrive two years later. (2)

Dr. Sutton-Smith came to the United States to study and went on to teach at Columbia University and later at the University of Pennsylvania.

In recognition of Dorothy Howard's contributions to the field, an archive of children's folklore was established at the Institute of Early Childhood Development in Melbourne, Australia, under the direction of June Factor. The Institute also publishes the bi-annual *Australian Children's Folklore Newsletter,* which was started in 1981 and modeled after the *Children's Folklore Newsletter* (now the *Children 's Folklore Review)* of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society.

Continuing her international focus, in 1962-63, while on sabbatical leave, Howard conducted a sociological study of one year in the life of a twelve-year-old boy in Tonala, Jalisco, Mexico, which was her first opportunity to confine her study to one individual child. In the preface to *Pedro of Tonala,* she explained how she chose this subject:

> I first met Pedro in the summer of 1962 when my anthropologist friend, Francis Gilmore, and I visited her friends in several families, in Tonala. I chose Pedro Asuncion Munoz Maestro for my study for several reasons: 1) he was the oldest son in his family and an apprentice in the family

> pottery industry; 2) he attended the government school; and 3) his family included, in addition to his father, mother, two younger brothers and one older and one younger sister, his grandfather, Maestro Martiniano, who still spoke the language and retold the legends of his ancient Indian ancestors. As a "maestro," he taught the young people of Tonala the traditional fiesta customs and he was a master potter, teaching Pedro to become a master potter to carryon the family tradition in an ancient pueblo that still clung to tradition. (n. p.)

She kept in touch with Pedro for many years after that research, visiting with him and his wife and children for the last time in 1977.

Of her fieldwork, Howard said:

> I visited Pedro at home, and on the playground and in the classroom at school; and, with the family, I attended local mercados, fiestas, and church. On later visits, we attended the mercados and walked about the town to see all the changes. But most of our time together we spent sitting on the Munoz-Maestro patio talking. As a grown man remembering, Pedro could tell me things he had known as a child but did not have the words to say as a child. (n.p.)

In 1989 she privately published *Pedro of Tonala,* a work she says was consistently rejected for publication by the "powers-that-be" in the professional folklore community because it lacked what they regarded as a viable theoretical base.

Following her work with Pedro, from 1967 to 1969 in Lincoln, Nebraska, she studied the play life of Ingrid, a girl from the age of two to age four. Her research technique in this project was to play the roles that Ingrid assigned to her. This manuscript remains unpublished.

As previously mentioned, she retired from her position as Professor of English and Chair at Frostburg State Teacher's College in Maryland in 1967. In her retirement she published a personal, autobiographical memoir, *Dorothy's World: Childhood in Sabine Bottom, 1902-1910,* and then turned her attention to a study of the play customs of Amish children in Western Maryland which is tentatively entitled "Work and Play in Pleasant Valley." This project was inspired by research she and her students had undertaken several years before when Howard taught at Frostburg. When she returned to Maryland in the early 1980s to conduct fieldwork, many of these

former students, now parents themselves, assisted her. This important study is unfinished. Her family has encouraged her to write a sequel to *Dorothy's World,* which she has considered calling *Dorothy's Schooldays,* but her failing eyesight interferes with continuing these projects.

Reflecting on her life's work as a woman specializing in the then marginalized and largely ignored field of children's folklore, Dr. Howard says:

> Before the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution and ever since my success as a high school debater always debating (against boys), "Resolved, that women have the right to vote"; and ever since Plato introduced me to Socrates (in college), I have searched through history books to learn about the position of women and children throughout the history of the human race. The relationship of adults to children has been a preoccupation in my search. No folklorist-as far as I am aware-has made a study of the folklore of pedagogy.

Reflecting further, Dr. Howard concludes:

> Professor Barnes was wrong when he said, "You can go your own way forever." All those who undertake to study human behavior always find their way paved with circumstances beyond their control. In the academic milieu of the 1930's in which it was my lot to live and begin my inquiry into children's playlore, the circumstances beyond my control were not unlike the circumstances beyond the control of Lady Alice Gomme, a proper Victorian lady of the nineteenth century. Lady Gomme was a non-conformist in her day. So have I been in mine. But, happily for me, children, unlike their elders, have welcomed me—a non-conforming adult. No longer do I call myself a folklorist because I do not fit any definition of the word in the perennial debate among vying A. F. S. members. As a contented maverick, I prefer—If I must be labelled—to be called an eclectic schoolteacher or a mugwump pedagog.[4]

In recognition of her vast contribution to the study of children's play, in 1981 The Anthropological Association for the Study of Play (TAASP) presented Dorothy Howard its first Distinguished Achievement award. In his presentation remarks, Brian Sutton-Smith summed up Dorothy Howard's contributions as follows:

> Her own story emphasizes the community of kinship relationships and of play. Her emphasis (like that of Dr. Victor Turner's to come) is on *community.* And yet when one looks at her account one is impressed mostly by its intellectuality. . .. There is an early intensive concern with literacy and word meanings. There is a story told with remarkable coolness and rationality. It is a tale of childhood told as if it was a cognitive map. It is written in the way we might have expected Piaget to do it. The same reflective rationality and the gutsiness of a little kid who kicks shins and spits in the butter if she doesn't get her way has clearly assisted Dr. Howard throughout her professional career as a debater, as a union activist, as a member of the AAUP and the American Civil Liberties Union. She has had the rare reward of contriving the dismissal of an authoritarian college president while holding her own job as a lowly professor.
>
> So why did she find children important enough to go out amongst them? I suspect that Dorothy, like many of us, finds in these innocent roots the reminders of that warmth and community of earlier life long gone from much of the modem life of literacy and alienation. In her own writing she protests against that kind of scholarship that buries the study of children's play in academic footnotes and computer output. In her book on Pedro she seeks to establish an intensive play record of one child in a community context with a full description of all surrounding phenomena just as she has done for her own life with *Dorothy's World.* Though contrary to major scholarly trends, her attempt at such an intensive case study with a specific ludic focus continues to make her as much of a pioneer today as she was in 1931. (6)

Howard replied, with characteristic spunk:

> Brian praised me for my childhood virtues (kicking shins and spitting in the butter). I kicked four shins (belonging to two older sisters). I spat on people (not in the butter). I was promptly spanked for it and soon learned that spitting on people was not profitable; and I have not spat on anybody since I was four years old. Nevertheless, 'til this day (like

> Pavlov's salivating dogs and Skinner's trained pigeons) in the presence of some people, I have to swallow hard and fast.
>
> This, I hope, sufficiently amplifies my pedigree and my childhood virtues and I shall now stop playing with words. If I have been a pioneer on play research (as Brian says), I wish I could have blazed a wider trail through the forests and over the mountains of academic arrogance, ignorance, and indifference for you who now struggle to till the soil, plant and harvest facts and knowledge, wisdom and understanding for the purpose of nourishing and cherishing the young of our land, where children are still chattel property too often unprotected by the Supreme Court of the United States. All I can say to you today in return for the honor you have bestowed on me, is my blessing. Right On! (6-7)

In 1990, the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society awarded her its Lifetime Achievement Award.

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Dorothy Howard's personal papers, research, and publications have been deposited in the Dorothy Howard Collection of the Rare Books Room, Willis Library, University of North Texas in Denton, her alma mater.

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NOTES

1. In recognition of her unparalleled contribution to the field of children's folklore in 1989 the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society awarded Iona Opie its first Lifetime Achievement Award. The best biographical study of the Opies and their work is: Jonathan Copp, "Profile: Finding Out Is Better,"

The New Yorker 59 (April 4, 1983): 47-50+. See also: Leonard Marcus, "In Search of 'Childish Things': An Interview with Iona Opie," *Lion and the Unicorn* 13:2 (December, 1989): 7.

2. A search of the files of *Time* and the New York *Times* revealed no such articles.

3. Many of these collections and essays are in the Dorothy Howard Collection at the University of North Texas in Denton.

4. This article is based on numerous interviews and conversations with Dr. Howard and on her brief, unpublished memoir, "Acadaemia, 193 I-Revisited, 1980." My thanks also to Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith, for sharing his files and insights.

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Developing and Appreciation for the Cultural Significance of Childlore[1]

Carole H Carpenter

Part of the responsibility of contemporary scholars of childlore rests in their actively promoting a genuine appreciation for children's own traditions so as to counteract the continuing perception of such material as merely the charming, nostalgia laden ephemera of innocents. Childlore would seem by its very persistence in the modern age to merit serious investigation, for in a world of considerable cultural change that which endures ought to acquire particular significance and its uses, meanings and function in contemporary society should command attention. Rather than dismissing childlore as culturally irrelevant, then, it is quite arguably more responsible to highlight this material and consider the impact of these durable traditions on the development and expression of individual, group and national identity.

There are several reasons for assuming this responsibility, namely:

1. this approach potentially affords considerable illumination of the dynamics of cultural acquisition, generally and during childhood in particular;

2. there is a necessity given the complexity and demands of contemporary multicultural circumstances to gain as full an understanding as possible of the cultural milieu of children in order to shape and plan judiciously for their future; and

3. it is desirable to combat the persisting popular tendency to disregard the holistic humanity of children as equal, fully human beings—even to the extent of their having meaningful culture.

By taking on this responsibility, folklorists can more adequately meet their ethical obligations to their young informants while contributing to a richer understanding of perhaps the single most important yet culturally neglected minority group in North America—our children.

Widespread popular belief as well as solid clinical evidence support the idea that childhood experiences are central to the development of our personalities. It might benefit our understanding of the acquisition and dynamic operation of culture (whether individual, group or national) if we were to consider seriously the

possibility of childhood cultural experiences having a similar formative influence on each person as a cultural being. To date, even the best discussions of childlore have paid limited attention to such enduring effects of experiences with the cultural artifacts of childhood. Factor's *Captain Cook Chased a Chook* (1988) certainly points to, but does not elaborate upon, the possible influence of experiences during childhood in enabling empowerment and in effecting a given stance vis-a-vis culture and its manipulation. In *One Potato, Two Potato* (1976), the Knapps argue for recognizing the manipulation of childhood traditions as a primary means to acquiring valuable life skills. And some studies (e.g., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's work on language and Sutton-Smith's on folk stories)[2] do comment upon the significance of folklore experiences in cognitive and linguistic development. Yet, even such fine discussions of the function of childlore stop short of documenting in detail the long-term impact of particular experiences with specific cultural artifacts of children's own culture. The persisting effects on perceived and operative identity associated with and expressed through such artifacts are scarcely ever recognized let alone analyzed in depth.

Alexander Chamberlain called for an anthropological interpretation of children's culture as early as 1896 in *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought.* Yet, his was a developmental focus on the lore of childhood as a means to understanding culture generally, allowing as this material did examination of the past and the future, "for children as a semiliterate society inherit the oral tradition of the past and use it to shape the future" (Bronner 47). The legacy of the Gilded Age has not ultimately directed academe or the general public to consider children's own traditions fully as culture-the dynamically interrelated process and product shaping orientation on existence (worldview) both affecting and effecting identity and, hence, overall way of life. The finest study of which I am aware relating early childhood cultural experiences to subsequent identity is a historical work, Elliot West's *Growing Up With the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* (1989) which, because of the author's orientation, does not highlight children's own traditions quite as a folklore study might.

This paper seeks to address this evident lack in cultural scholarship and childlore studies. It explores the enduring influence of children's own expressive culture and of childhood cultural experience amongst five groups of modern Canadians marginalized by various circumstances so that identity has been a particular issue for them, specifically:

1. residents of Saskatchewan when it moved from territorial to provincial status in 1905;

2. Newfoundlanders during the transitional period from WW II through to the province's entering Canadian Confederation (1949);

3. Montrealers living in a bilingual environment prior to official bilingualism in Canada (before the late sixties);

4. the offspring of mixed ethnic group marriages before the adoption of the federal multicultural policy (1971); and

5. aboriginal Canadians who attended residential schools before 1960.

The data employed in this discussion are drawn from field as well as archival and library research conducted over the past four years. Of special concern in this effort to reconstruct childhoods of times gone by and determine their impact on identity has been hearing the child's own voice, which is singularly absent from relevant "storying of childhood," to paraphrase Rex and Wendy Stainton Rogers (1992). Therefore, appropriate adult informants were asked to re-member their childhood culture and to reflect upon its contribution to their identity. However tinged by nostalgia or warped by selective recall these memories might be, themes and recurrent patterns in them were considered as justifiably indicative of the actual historical situation. Pilot fieldwork was conducted in Saskatchewan (concerning Group 1), B .C. (concerning Groups 1 and 4), and Ontario (concerning 3, 4 and 5). There is extensive documentation of the Newfoundland situation in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) which was selectively consulted. As well, some data were incorporated from the collection of questionnaires in the Saskatchewan Archives (Regina) conducted in 1955 and pertaining to pioneer experiences,[3] one set of which was specifically entitled "Folklore." Last (and actually least given the extant publications), information was obtained from ethnographic accounts, journals and memoirs of childhood.

In **Group 1,** the children concerned were of a broad range of ethnocultural heritage and mostly recent first- or second-generation immigrants to Canada. A substantial number did not speak English in their homes, but were required to do so in school and, through peer pressure, on the playground. Since pioneer Saskatchewan was a rural agrarian society, most of the children were isolated on farms except when at school or during the harvest. At school, they strongly perceived a dominant Anglo norm reflecting in part the contemporaneous British/Empire orientation strong in their classrooms, but

also the desired orientation of their parents, the *lingua franca* of the children and the overall childhood cultural dynamic which elevated conformity. The following recollections explicate this cultural milieu:

> According to Hilbert Kreutzweiser (age 92), one morning in his fourth year he left the home of his birth in Englefeld, Saskatchewan "a wee fella who spoke German" and came back up the farm lane that afternoon "a real Canadian lad"- much to his parents' delight. (Collected in Saskatoon, 1992)[4]

> Frances Kanuit, looking back as an 84-year old, chuckled about the playground of his youth in Macoun, Saskatchewan, saying: "To keep all the others from laughing at my name, I palled up with another guy—a kid with an accent, too—and together we beat everyone up. Then I could play all the games and be just like them." (Collected in Kelowna, B.C., 1992)

Informants typically saw the long-term effects of their childhood cultural experiences to be a general homogenization of tradition outside the home which, in some instances, distanced them from their families. Their identification was stronger beyond the region than within because of the immediate cultural disparities and the Anglo norm which came (however much willingly adopted) from outside. In later years, shared agricultural/economic concerns promoted local identification which fed off the perceived dominance from outside and produced a certain antagonism to Canadian (especially Central Canadian/Ontario) authority and cultural dominance. The subordinate situation-real and perceived—of the prairie region had profound and enduring socio-cultural impact.[5] According to my informants, their own cultural experiences resonated with this subordinate situation resulting in their viewing the rise of socialist parties in Saskatchewan as a logical response to what they considered to be central Canadian (and overall governmental) authoritarianism. Further, in later life, many of them—staunch and patriotic Canadians almost without exception—have regretted the fact that their parents and they, themselves, did not preserve more of their heritage traditions for subsequent generations. To a certain extent, then, they have welcomed the recent ethnification of Canadian culture as a means of recapturing that lost heritage which, as children, embarrassed and marked them as outsiders.

By considering the impact of childhood cultural experiences in pioneer Saskatchewan then, one can better appreciate the reasons for the cultural prominence of socialism in the prairie region. Also, the development of the seemingly conflicting intense ethnic sentiments alongside federalist identity are understandable as the logical consequences of the early childhood situation for many Saskatchewan residents.

Let us turn now to **Group 2**, consisting of Newfoundlanders who were children during World War II and up to 1949 when the former Crown Colony entered Confederation with Canada. There was a considerable commonality amongst children throughout Newfoundland where the population was predominantly of English or Irish background. They mostly shared a common language-indeed, a common dialect of that language which had developed amongst them[6]—and economic conditions in that the greatest number were from fishing families living in small, isolated villages. There was strong identification with Britain across well-defined classes and throughout the Island, accompanied by little knowledge of or involvement with Canada. The experience of the outside increased greatly as a result of World War II, during which Newfoundland played a particularly strategic role especially as a result of the North Atlantic convoys. The war tended to heighten "Britishness" for children—an identity which was directly reflected in their songs, parodies, rhymes (many of which in MUNFLA closely parallel the topical rhymes and other material in the Opies' *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, Chapter 7 in particular).

Personal awareness of a cultural other came to many of the children through American servicemen stationed in Newfoundland. One informant (interviewed in Toronto in 1992) recounted how airmen at the Argentia base sought contact with local children as surrogates for their own families, and they used childhood traditions to do so. But, she said, their traditions were different, which made the local children recognize their own distinctiveness. Besides, some of the servicemen were black—the personification of "the Man in black," the "Stranger," or "Foreigner" who occupied a boogey-man/frightening figure role in Newfoundland childhood cultural tradition, as documented by John Widdowson in *If You Don't Be Good* (see especially page 275).

Childhood lore then served as a boundary maintenance device between the locals and the "Come-from-aways" (as Newfoundlanders call people from off their island). The schools meanwhile reinforced the inherent British-orientation as well as separation of distinct sub-groups, given that all schools then were church-operated. Official childhood lore—as presented for instance in school texts or other books for children—promoted a British-oriented Newfoundlandiana, both more regional and more connected to the

"Old Country"? than contemporaneous childhood lore elsewhere in Canada (for instance, in Vancouver between the 1920s and the 1960s as indicated by Sutherland and confirmed in my recent fieldwork).

Over the long-term, these Newfoundland children grew up with a sense of separateness, of being other but of being together in their identity. Today the British connection remains for many of them, now amongst the older residents of the province, rather stronger emotionally than their attachment to Canada. It is present in contemporary lore such as the popular saying in St. John's that one can go out on Cape Spear (the most easterly point in Newfoundland) and come back with an Irish accent.[8] Most people who were youngsters during World War II have maintained a certain sense of being foreign within Canada in good measure because of their childhood cultural experiences.

The children of **Group 3** existed in three distinct groupings: the Francophones, the Jews, and the English Canadians, the latter two together with other non-Francophones comprising "les Anglais," so-termed by the French-speaking majority in the province. Children were separated on the streets by language and into schools by religion (the Jews mostly attending Protestant owing to discriminatory circumstances prohibiting their own religious schools).[9] In keeping with the common cultural response in francophone/anglophone encounters throughout most parts of Quebec, very little macaronic lore apparently developed here. The extant documentation of such traditions in Canada is remarkably limited and pertains primarily to adults (see Posen).[10]

According to my informants, there was a macaronic tradition of jests or jeers in the Montreal of their childhood, and this lore functioned for them primarily as a social boundary maintenance device, though its overt use was to bridge the linguistic barriers. There was very little non-institutionalized shared communication, though many of the children grew up able to speak both languages as a result of formal schooling and broad experience in the bilingual/bicultural city that was Montreal in those days. With limited communication came almost no shared childhood traditions, so that while the linguistic communities were not geographically divided, child groupings were virtually mutually exclusive. The children's own lore was antagonistic to the perceived other, or focussed inward because of linguistic boundaries. Here then was a miniature version of the situation described by Lord Durham in his 1840 report to the British Government on the state of the Canadian colony: "two nations warring within the bosom of a single state" (one might read street in the case of these children).

The long-term manifestations of this childhood cultural situation are evident in the strong cultural protectionist sentiments in Quebec today—both

separatist and English-Canadian. Most of the leaders of Quebec are fluently bilingual, but they developed throughout their youth, and today retain allegiance to and primary identity with, the particular culture of their childhood homes. Their experiences in the popular culture have prompted many—especially though not exclusively the francophones—to react against bilingualism as a negative, a move towards losing one's own culture. There is, as a result, a demand (supported by legislation in the instance of the dominant francophones) for unilingualism to protect "threatened" culture. This perception of threat is directly traceable to the eyes of the child beholders from decades past.

According to the 1991 census data, the majority of contemporary Canadians are, like the members of **Group 4,** of mixed ethnic extraction. Prior to official multiculturalism (1971), those of such background mostly existed in some form of cultural amalgam within their homes and as nothing evidently distinctive culturally outside of them. Largely they blended into the mainstream of childhood culture, becoming invisible often by conscious design (witness many offspring of Japanese-Canadian/Caucasian marriages after the incarcerations of World War II). They accepted the strong Anglo norm in effect amongst children's groups (as demonstrated in Neil Sutherland's research in Vancouver as well as in my later research on multicultural playgrounds in Toronto in 1975-76 and 1986-87).[11]

Over the years, such children developed no clear tie to any particular ethnic traditions unless one aspect of their heritage was dominant in their homes. They were, by virtue of their families' active nonparticipation in ethnic-oriented culture and consequent activities, usually excluded from the child-directed, child-focussed process whereby youngsters passed ethnic-based traditions amongst themselves and over the generations. As they matured, Canada adopted multiculturalism and ethnicity flourished while mainstream traditions were down-played. Consequently, many reported feeling that in having no overt ethnicity they had no culture.[12] Some embarked on a "rediscovery" of ethnicity, but most developed a profound sense of cultural alienation-the mosaic of cultural rhetoric did not embrace their identity; in fact, it denied status to their cultural reality. This situation is a major contributing factor to the on-going quest for identity that plagues modern Canada.[13]

The Final Group is that on which I have done least fieldwork, but for which there is abundant documentation of the significance of childhood cultural experiences for native people who as children attended residential schools up into the 1960s when they were finally closed. Essentially, the oral traditions these native children shared helped them preserve their Indianness, becoming (along with their memories of home and family/community) their

focus of identity. This childlore was consciously rejected by some children who purposefully tried to fit in, to some extent out of fear of punishment by their non-Native custodians. But most of the youngsters themselves recognized the oral traditions they shared as a means of defiance and rebellion and actively used them as such.

This circumstance is vividly represented in Shirley Sterling's *My Name is Seepeetza* (1992), a recent award-winning fictionalized journal of life in a residential school located in the interior of B.C. The young narrator, called Martha Stone at the school, recounts an instance in which she is given one of several dolls donated by the local community. Recalling dolls made for her by her mother, she promptly buries it and looks up to discover an older girl looking on:

> She said she was a grandmother, and she had stsa-wen. I was surprised to hear her say that word. It means dried fish. I thought only we knew that word from home. She handed me an old dried piece of pine wood and told me to sit on the ground to eat my stsa-wen. We sat cross-legged on the ground facing each other near an old log so we could keep warm. The tumbleweeds were rolling past and the wind was kind of moaning. (37-38)

The many testimonials from contemporary adult native people bear witness to the long-term effect of their schooldays which was cultural suppression at the very least. Those I interviewed (in the Muskoka region of Ontario) evidenced a profound militance to preserve their heritage *for* themselves and *by* themselves as, it must be emphasized, they have come to perceive it. In large measure gone is the nostalgia for times past along with any substantial concern for traditional veracity to be replaced with a dedication to reject the appropriation of their voice and to be heard where once they were silenced. One such informant characterized the current status of her people's traditions through recalling a circumstance from her own childhood:

> Towards the end of the month, just before my grandparents could buy new batteries—they could only afford them once a month when their cheques came in—the sound from the radio would get weaker and weaker. There would be something you really wanted to hear, but it was fading away from your grasp. (1993)

Some (like Basil Johnston, long an ethnographer with the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto) have tried to educate the non-native society and in so doing have supported cultural self-determination (see *Indian Schooldays*). In all, most of my informants showed many cultural commonalities with other suppressed/oppressed peoples. There is a rejuvenation of Indianness amongst youth (in a contemporary guise, often with little direct reference to the historical traditions and sometimes of a pan-Indian nature).[14] This cultural revitalization involves the employment-deployment might actually be the better term-of native traditions as they were used during the natives' childhoods, that is, as weapons-both to protect and to do battle against the threatening cultural milieu. Excellent examples of this cultural stance or orientation with respect to traditions include the armed confrontations at Oka in 1991 between Mohawks and first, Quebec provincial police and then, Canadian military forces as well as powerful non-violent activity through the numerous native council houses established in recent years as veritable cultural rehabilitation centres.

This cultural articulation derives from a form of romantic nationalism, similar in nature and goals to the many 19th-century movements centred around folk traditions. Already the socio-political products of a native movement bred in substantial measure through the cultural (mis)treatment of children are obvious in the greater evidence of the native voice in Canadian politics, widespread support for the natives' demand for self-government, the recent commencement of the dismantling of the Department of Indians Affairs and the realization of a native to such an understanding of childhood culture through themselves giving children's lore thoroughly scholarly attention, discouraging romantic and sentimental treatments of it and promoting full appreciation of its significance especially amongst those who work with as well as for children.

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NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the American Folklore Society meeting in Eugene, Oregon, October 1993. I am grateful to Linda Morley, Priscilla Ord and Ruth Stotter for their helpful comments and criticisms.

2. Sutton-Smith, *The Folkstories of Children* (Philadelphia, 1981) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Speech Play* (Philadelphia, 1976).

3. This series of questionnaires was undertaken as part of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the province's entry into Confederation in 1905. At that time, a substantial proportion of those who experienced the transitional period as children were alive and able to contribute significantly to the documentation of their past.

4. All the interviews cited are included within my collection on deposit in the Ontario Folklore-Folklife Archive of the Ontario Folklife Centre located at York University, North York, Ontario.

5. As noted by the prominent Canadian historian W. L. Morton, amongst others. Morton directly associates this socio-historical circumstance with a marked distinctiveness about the political climate, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," which supported, he argues, the growth of grass-roots socialism amongst other things. I discovered Morton's article (in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Vol. XLIX, Series III, Section Two [June 1955], 289-300 and variously reprinted) after my original presentation of this paper in Eugene. Queries raised at that time challenging the linkage I reported led me to seek corroboration of my informants' contentions, which Morton more than adequately provides.

6. As extensively documented in G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds. *Dictionary of Newfoundland English.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990 (1982).

7. The reference to Great Britain most commonly used in English-speaking Canada at the time and well into the sixties.

8. Personally collected several times over three decades, most recently in October 1991.

9. As documented in Mary Ashworth, *Children of the Canadian Mosaic,* Chapter 6 "Jewish Children," 57-68.

10. The few scholarly references to macaronic children's lore in Canada include an unpublished paper by Gerald Thomas concerning the French in Newfoundland's Port-au-Port peninsula presented at the American Folklore Society meeting in 1987; my own work on "Ethnic Joke-Telling Among Canadian Children," *Culture and Tradition* 7(1985): 31-41; and some brief remarks by Margaret Bennett Knight in "Scottish, Gaelic, English and French: Some Aspects of the Macaronic Tradition of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland," *Regional Language Studies. . . Newfoundland* 4(1972): 25-30.

11. As reported in several papers to the American Folklore Society (1976 and 1987), the American Anthropological Association (1976), and the American Culture Association (1984) and published in my article cited in note 10.

12. As reported in several articles in Stella Hryniuk, ed. *Twenty Years of Multiculturalism: Successes and Failures.* (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 1992), the proceedings of a conference in which this circumstance surfaced as an emotionally-charged issue. See in particular Richard Ogmondson, "On the Right to be a Canadian," 45-55.

13. As argued in my paper "Folklore as a Tool of Multiculturalism" in Hryniuk (1992): 149-160.

14. An excellent example is the homogenized nature of drumming, the lighting of supposed *council* fires as symbolic protest, and the omniprescence of bald eagle feathers as speaker's tokens.

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Notes and Announcements

Children's Literature and Children's Folklore:

The twenty-second annual International Children's Literature Association Conference, *Children's Literature & the Lore of Childhood*, will be held 1-4 June 1995 at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH. Paper or proposal deadline is 31 January 1995. See the *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 20.2 (Summer 1994) for details.

To submit papers, three copies of the paper and an SASE (or three copies of proposals) should be sent to: Clair L. Malarte-Feldman, Chair, Department of French and Italian, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824.

The 16th International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts, 22-26 March 1994, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, will feature children's literature critic Peter Hunt as its Guest Scholar. The program committee is actively seeking papers on children's fantasy and science fiction. For further information, contact C.W. Sullivan III, IAFA President, English Department, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353.

Publications:

The H.W. Wilson Company announces the publication of *Putting the World in a Nutshell*, by Sheila Dailey. *Putting the World in a Nutshell* examines nine basic types of formula tales: chain, cumulative, circle, endless, catch, compound triad, question, air castle, and good/bad story. Multicultural in scope, *Putting the World in a Nutshell* offers 38 stories from many cultures and folk traditions, including Russian, Vietnamese, Persian, Ethiopian, and West African. It also provides an annotated bibliography of storytelling resources and folktale collections for further reading. Review copies are available from: Liane Drake, Advertising Department, The H.W. Wilson Company, 950 University Avenue, Bronx, NY 10452.

In her new book from The H.W. Wilson Company, *Celebrate the World*, folklorist and storyteller Margaret Read MacDonald presents twenty of her favorite folktales intended for use in library and

classroom programs celebrating worldwide holidays. *Celebrate the World* includes tales from Indian, Chinese, Iranian, Scottish, Norwegian, German, West African, Hmong, North American, and many other traditions. MacDonald has selected several of the tales for their ability to inspire audience involvement. To assist storytellers in their planning, MacDonald includes information on the festivals as celebrated in their native cultures. Review copies are available from: Liane Drake, Advertising Department, The H.W. Wilson Company, 950 University Avenue, Bronx, NY 10452.

KTOO-FM announces the publication of the fourth book in the *We Like Kids!* series, ***The We Like Kids! Book of Stories-Multi-Cultural Animal Tales***. This book, with an accompanying cassette, is a collection of eleven stories from around the world, told by a variety of nationally-recognized storytellers. For additional information, write or call: Jeff Brown, Producer, We Like Kids!, c/o KTOO-FM, 224 4th Street, Juneau, Alaska 9980 I; telephone: 907586-1670.

Newell Prize:

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award of $350.00) for the best undergraduate or graduate student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition.

Papers must be typed, double-spaced, and on white paper. On the first page include the author's name, academic address, home address, and telephone numbers. Deadline for each year's competition is March 1st.

Submit papers or write for additional information: Judith Haut, 2733 Halsey Road, Topanga, CA 90290.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Carole H. Carpenter, one of the founders and the current president of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society, teaches at York University, North York, Ontario.

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The *Children's Folklore Review* is available only to members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society. To become a member, send $10.00 yearly dues to Danielle Roemer, Literature and Language, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41076. Please make checks payable to "AFS Children's Folklore Section."

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